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WHOLE No. 409

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MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1922

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## MOVING PICTURES AMONG THE ROMANS<sup>1</sup>

To a populace that found its pastime in the spectacular and brutal scenes of the amphitheater, the thrilling incidents of its history and of its stock of mythology could, without suffering in comparison with the gladiatorial combats and animal fights, be presented in pantomime or in reality by the ingenious Roman. Besides having at his disposal many underground passages and openings therefrom into the arena by means of which the whole scene could be changed in a moment, he had trained slaves under whose skillful hands elaborate stage-machinery was moved rapidly and systematically.

In the Middle Ages the Christian Church, to inculcate instruction, rendered in pantomime or in dramatic form various Biblical incidents and scenes from the lives of the Saints. Quite naturally, however, these representations did not retain their original simplicity, but developed into the spectacular Miracle and Morality plays. The Roman did not view the scenes from mythology as a means of imparting religious or moral instruction; he had, rather, an insatiable desire to see the abnormal and the terrible. The rabble at Rome was simply human and, like any mob, delighted in that which was unusual.

Such representations of the gods and heroes did not fail to evoke the disapproval and the disgust of the Christian writer Tertullian, who, in his *Apology*, Chapter 15, gives a short account of the sights to be seen in the Roman amphitheater:

'The rest of your ingenious amusements minister to your pleasures through the dishonor of your gods. Reflect upon the choice farces of your *Lentuli* and your *Hostilii*, considering whether in your jokes and your artifices you laugh at the mimes or at your gods: the lewd *Anubis*, the male *Luna*, the scourged *Diana*, the recital of the will of the deceased *Jupiter* and the three famished *Herculeses* held up to derision. But also the literature of the stage depicts the foulness of the gods. The *Sun* to your joy mourns for his boy who has been hurled from the sky, and *Cybele* sighs for the disdainful shepherd without a blush creeping over your faces. You also suffer the criminal record of *Jupiter* to be sung, and *Juno*, *Venus*, and *Minerva* to be judged by a shepherd. What have you to say of this, that a likeness of your god covers an ignominious and infamous head; that a body impure and by emasculation prepared for that purpose represents a certain *Minerva* or *Hercules*? Is not their majesty violated and their divinity prostituted while you

applaud? You clearly are more religious in the theater where your gods dance over human blood and over the filth resulting from conflicts, thereby affording the criminals plain facts and narratives—except that your very gods are often impersonated by malefactors. Once we saw the mutilation of *Atys*, that well known god from *Pessinus*, and one who was burning alive posed as *Hercules*. And in the midst of the cruel shows of the noon-day gladiators, we laughed at *Mercury* examining the dead with a cautery. We also see the brother of *Jupiter*, with a hammer in his hand, dragging out the corpses of the gladiators. But who can go through all your farces up to date one by one? If they destroy the honor of the gods, if they obliterate the traces of their majesty, such burlesques find their origin surely in the contempt in which the gods are held by those who perform them and by those for whose amusement they are performed'.

Condemned criminals had to be disposed of, and, if Rome was going to have capital punishment, why not execute the culprits in the arena and thus give public amusement? In this way they could be forced to act various parts of Greek and Roman mythology, and, in playing some of the most beautiful and pathetic rôles, they suffered the most dreadful penalties.

Besides reading in *Tertullian* about the rôle of *Heracles*, we note in one of the Greek epigrams the following about a certain *Meniscus*, who, in playing the part of the Grecian *Samson* on Mount *Oeta*, was burned to death (*Jacobs, Anthologia Palatina* II.184):

'As *Heracles* of yore, so did *Meniscus* take the golden apples from the *Hesperides* of *Zeus*. And what happened? As he was apprehended, there appeared to all a great spectacle, how *Heracles* of old was burned to death'.

*Plutarch, De Sera Numinis Vindicta* 9, incidentally mentioning the stage, says:

'However, there are some people that differ not at all from children, who, many times beholding malefactors upon the stage in their gilded vestments and short purple cloaks as they dance with crowns upon their heads, admire and look upon them as the happiest people in the world till they see them gored and lashed, and mark flames of fire curling from underneath their sumptuous and gaudy garments'.

Neither author mentions these things as having actually happened at Rome, but we can hardly suppose that the capital would have been outdone by any city in the provinces.

It seems that showy apparel was frequently seen in the arena. When *Perpetua* and *Felicitas*<sup>2</sup> with some of their friends were taken into the amphitheatre at Carthage, in 203 A. D., the tribune threatened to clothe the men as priests of Saturn and the women as

*Passio Sanctae Perpetuae* 18.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to emphasize the caveat in Dr. Gehman's concluding paragraph. I have read something on the Inquisition, and I have seen, in the Tower of London, the implements once used by our British cousins to bring recalcitrants over to their way of thinking. We have long known, unhappily, that, at times, both ancient and modern man has been demoniacally cruel; this paper is printed not to prove that again, but to illustrate Roman ingenuity—ghastly ingenuity, indeed, but ingenuity nevertheless.  
C. K.

priestesses of the same god, the color of whose vestments, as Tertullian tells us (*De Testimonio Animae* 2; *De Pallio* 4), was purple and scarlet. Christian convicts sometimes were forced to represent some mythological character or to engage in some idolatrous ceremony. Thus Clement, in his *Epistle to the Corinthians* 6, speaks of Christian women who played the parts of Danaids or of Dirce in the arena. In the *Acts of Theodotus* (Ruinart, page 301) we have a case of persons who were made priests of Diana and Minerva.

Apuleius gives a rather full account of a mythological performance in the amphitheater. In his *Metamorphoses* 10.19, he tells us that a certain Lucius, who had been transformed into an ass, and his owner, Thiasus, came to Corinth, where the latter put Lucius on private exhibition, and charged a good admission. Finally, Thiasus arranged to exhibit Lucius, in a certain way, in public, at the games.

Making allowance for the exaggeration and the imagery of a vile-minded writer, let us quote the experience of Lucius as told by Apuleius, beginning with 10.29, in medio:

'And now, behold, the day destined for the show came; and amid the shouts of applause, as a long train escorted me, I was led to the amphitheater. During the first part of the performance, which was devoted to the joyous choral dances of the players, I was placed outside the gate and was glad to crop some fresh grass which grew just at the entrance, while I every now and then delighted my curious eyes with a most agreeable view of the spectacle through the open gate.

Beautiful boys and maidens, in the bloom of youth, splendidly dressed, moved with great elegance of gesture through the graceful evolutions of the Greek Pyrrhic dance. Now they revolved in a circle; now they deployed into an oblique line, with hands joined; at times they formed a wedgelike figure enclosing an open square; then they parted into two troops and went through a variety of intricate movements till they ceased at the sound of the trumpet. Then the screen was lowered, the hangings were drawn aside, and a dramatic scene was exhibited.

There was a wooden structure formed in imitation of that celebrated mountain *Ida* of which the poet *Homer* has sung. It was a fabric of considerable height, covered with turf and growing trees up to the very top, whence, by the contrivance of the artist, a fountain was made to flow and pour down a stream of water. A few goats cropped the grass, and a young man handsomely arrayed in barbaric vestments and having his head covered with a golden tiara, in resemblance of *Paris*, the *Phrygian* shepherd, appeared to be employed in pastoral pursuits. A beautiful boy then came forward, his only garment being the mantle generally worn by striplings, which covered his left shoulder. His beautiful yellow hair flowed loosely, and from the midst of it issued a pair of little golden wings; these and the caduceus he carried showed him to be *Mercury*. He danced forward, holding in his hand a golden apple which he presented to the performer who personated *Paris*; he made known to him by signs what *Jove* commanded, and gracefully retired. A girl of noble features, who represented the goddess *Juno*, then made her appearance; her head was surrounded with a white diadem, and she bore a scepter in her hand. Another then entered who could easily be recognized as *Minerva*, having on her head a shining helmet encircled with a wreath of olive. She raised her shield aloft and

brandished her spear as that goddess does when she is engaged in battle. After these came another female of surpassing beauty: the loveliness of her divine complexion declared her to be *Venus*, and *Venus* such as she was while yet a virgin. Her perfect form was nude, all but some charms imperfectly concealed by a gauze scarf with which the wind played amorously, sometimes uncovering the beauties beneath it, sometimes pressing it against the limbs and displaying their delicious contour. The goddess appeared in two different colors; her body was dazzlingly white, because she had descended from the heavens, while her silken garment was azure because she had emerged from the sea.

The virgins who represented the goddesses were accompanied by their respective attendants. With *Juno* came two young players representing *Castor* and *Pollux*, whose heads were covered with helmets of semioval form graced with a cluster of stars. She advanced, with a calm and unaffected air, to the warbling of the flute, and promised to the shepherd, with modest gestures, that she would bestow on him the rule of all *Asia*, if he adjudged to her the prize of beauty.

She who impersonated *Minerva* was attended by two armed youths, *Terror* and *Fear*, who danced before her with drawn swords. Behind her a piper played a martial air, mingling shrill and deep-braying tones, and excited the agility of the dancers as with the blast of the trumpet. With restless head and threatening glances, *Pallas* bounded forward and with animated gestures signified to *Paris* that, if he pronounced her victorious in the contest of beauty, she would render him illustrious for his valor and his achievements in war.

Greeted with vast applause from the spectators, *Venus* advanced with a sweet smile and stood still in a graceful attitude in the middle of the stage, surrounded by a throng of merry little boys, such plump, round-limbed, fair-skinned little fellows, you would have sworn that they were real *Cupids* who had just flown from heaven or from the sea; for they had little wings and arrows and all other accoutrements conformable, and they carried glowing torches before their mistress, as if to light her way to a nuptial banquet. She had also in her train a lovely choir of virgins, the charming *Graces* and the *Hours*, who strewed the path of their goddess with loose flowers and bouquets and propitiated the queen of pleasure with the pleasant offerings of the spring.

Presently the flutes began to breathe soft *Lydian* airs that thrilled the audience with delight; but greater still was their pleasure when *Venus* began to move in concert with the music and with slow lingering steps and gentle sinuous flexure of the spine and head and graceful movements of the arms to respond to the soft modulations of the flutes; now her eyes swam with voluptuous languor, now they flashed with the ardor of passion; sometimes she seemed to dance with the eyes alone. As soon as she had approached close to the judge, she was understood to promise, by the movements of her arms, that, if she should be preferred to the other goddesses, she would bestow on *Paris* a wife surpassing all other women in beauty, in a word, one like herself. Gladly then did the young *Phrygian* deliver to her, as a token of her victory, the golden apple he held in his hand. . . . After that judgment of *Paris* was finished, *Juno* and *Minerva* retired from the stage in sorrow and anger, and showed by their gestures the indignation they felt at being rejected; but *Venus*, full of joy and merriment, testified her gladness by dancing with all her choir. Then wine mixed with saffron burst from the summit of the mountain through a pipe that lay concealed, and, flowing in scattered streams, besprinkled, as it fell, with an odoriferous shower the goats that fed around and changed their



native whiteness to a more beautiful yellow tint. And now as the theater was exhaling a sweet odor, a chasm of the earth absorbed the wooden mountain.

One of the soldiers now ran down the street to fulfill the demands of the people and bring from the public prison the woman before mentioned, who, as I have stated, was condemned to the wild beasts on account of her manifold crimes, and was destined to be my illustrious bride. What was intended also to be our resting-place was already prepared. It was brilliantly adorned with the Indian tortoise-shell, swelling with feathery heaps, and decorated with a silken coverlet. As for me, besides the shame of being thus publicly exhibited and besides the contact of that wicked and polluted woman, I was also in the highest degree tormented with the fear of death; for it struck me that, if during the progress of the play any wild beast should be let in on purpose to destroy the woman, it would not be so remarkably well trained or sagacious or so temperate and abstemious as to tear to pieces the woman who was at my side and spare me as being uncondemned and guilty of no crime.

I was alarmed, therefore, not on grounds of delicacy alone, but also on account of my life. While my master was intent on preparing for the representation and some of the servants were engaged in getting ready for the spectacle of hunting and others in gazing at the grandeur of the show, I, since no one thought that so tame an ass required to be so very attentively watched, so that I was free to follow my own devices, little by little stole away softly and quietly.

Turning from this fictitious account of a pantomime which probably had some basis of fact, we pass to Martial and Suetonius. When Nero gave his games in the wooden amphitheater in the region of the Campus Martius, no one was killed, not even any of the criminals. Then the incident of Pasiphae, the wife of Minos, was rendered so realistically that many of the spectators believed that she was actually covered by a bull as she was hidden in a wooden frame resembling a heifer (Suetonius, Nero 12). Martial, *De Spectaculis* 5, tells us that Domitian also represented in the amphitheater the connection between Pasiphae and the Cretan bull.

Friedländer, in his note to Martial, *De Spectaculis* 8, thinks that probably Domitian's scene of Pasiphae was followed by that of Daedalus. How the whole performance was enacted, we do not know, although we may presume that it was rendered with such realism that the spectators could understand it. Possibly, however, to introduce blood, Daedalus did not escape with his wings. Martial thus taunts the unfortunate man (*De Spectaculis* 8): 'Daedalus, being thus mangled by the Lucanian bear, how you could wish that you had your wings with you now!'

With Daedalus we associate his unfortunate son Icarus, and, at the games of Nero mentioned above, we find that the latter's rôle was represented. The actor, however, was unfortunate, and, in his first attempt at flight, fell down near the Emperor's seat and sprinkled his Highness with blood (Suetonius, Nero 12).

The epigrammatist tells us that under Domitian the Romans were favored with a scenic representation of Orpheus. We may suppose that the joys of the bard and Eurydice were depicted in all splendor until

she died and went to the lower world. Orpheus followed his wife to reclaim her, but he came back without her, as Martial, *De Spectaculis* 21 b, narrates: 'Are we surprised that the earth yawned suddenly to send out Orpheus? He came from his Eurydice who had been compelled to return to the depths'. While he was on earth, all nature was enchanted by the music of Orpheus, and elaborate stage-machinery was required to execute the scene depicted by Martial, *De Spectaculis* 21:

'Whatever Rhodope is said to have beheld in the theater of Orpheus, Caesar, the arena has displayed to you. Rocks crept along, and a forest, as wonderful as is believed to have been the grove of the Hesperides, moved rapidly. Every species of wild animals was present, mixed with the domestic animals, and many a bird hovered over the bard. But he himself lay prostrate, mangled by an ingrate bear. Only this part of the action was done contrary to the story'.

Although the splendor of the scene was fascinating, a mob that loved excitement could not fail to be thankful to the ingrate bear that gave the story such an unexpected turn.

Again, changes were made in the mythology without involving the death of the actor. For instance, Martial, *De Spectaculis* 16, tells us of a bull that bore Hercules to the sky:

'It was not a contrivance of art, but rather of piety that the bull, snatched up from the middle of the arena, departed to the skies. The bull once bore Europe over his brother's seas, but now a bull has borne Hercules to the stars. Compare, Fame, the bullocks of Caesar and Jupiter. Granted that they bore an equal burden, <the Emperor's> bore it the higher'.

It is probable that, in 1.6. 1-2, Martial refers to a scene in the arena showing Ganymede being carried away by an eagle. What part the boys played who were lifted up to the awning by machinery, as Juvenal notes (4.122), we do not know. It is possible that they assumed the characters of Cupids or of Icarus.

The great bandit Laureolus, it seems, appealed vividly to the Roman imagination. On the day before the murder of Caligula, there was a pantomimic performance of the crucifixion of this freebooter, and as a great deal of fictitious blood was shed around Laureolus and Cinyras (a character in a play following the crucifixion), the event was considered a prodigy (compare Josephus, *Antiquities* of the Jews 19.1. 13, Suetonius, *Caligula* 57). From the numerous references to Laureolus, we may assume that the incident was reproduced quite frequently. Juvenal (8. 187) mentions a certain nobleman, Lentulus, who acted Laureolus, and so for imitating a slave's rôle deserved to be crucified in reality. Tertullian (*Adversus Valentianos* 14) also refers to the affair of the famous robber. Martial, *De Spectaculis* 7, gives a very graphic description of the occurrence as it was presented in the time of Domitian:

'Just as Prometheus, bound to the Scythian crag, fed the bird that never left him with the flesh of his breast that was ever in excess, so a Laureolus hung on a real cross and offered his vitals to the Caledonian

bear. He was still alive though his joints were torn, while his members were dripping with blood, and in his whole body there was nowhere any semblance of a body. At length he received the punishment he deserved. He had been guilty of piercing with his sword a parent's, or, if you will, a master's throat, or in his madness plundered temples of their hidden gold, or to thee, Rome, applied fell torches. The polluted wretch has outdone the crimes of ancient story, and for him a punishment of fable became reality'.

Besides having pantomimic representations of robbers, we have an instance where the brigand himself paid the penalty. Strabo informs us (6.2.6) of a certain Selurus, known as the Son of Aetna, who had for a long time committed his depredations in Sicily, and, being eventually captured, was sent to Rome. The geographer himself saw the execution, which took place in connection with some gladiatorial combats in the forum. As though he were standing on his native Aetna, the bandit was placed on a lofty and fragile scaffold, which collapsed beneath his weight. He fell in the midst of rickety cages, which, filled with wild animals, had been placed beneath the scaffold for the occasion. The animals easily broke out and mangled the culprit.

It appears that the incident of Mucius Scaevola was very popular and was repeated several times under Domitian. Here the criminal taking the rôle of the daring assassin unflinchingly held his hand in the flames, as Martial tells us (8.30):

'What is now seen as a spectacle in the arena of Caesar, in the time of Brutus was the height of glory. Do you see how bravely the hand grasps the flames and enjoys the punishment and reigns in the astonished fire? He himself is there as a spectator of himself and glories in the noble destruction of his right hand. But, if the punishment had not been denied him against his will, his left hand, more cruel to itself, was ready to go into the weary flames. After such an achievement, I am sorry to know what he did before. For me it suffices to know this hand as I have seen it'.

In 10.25, Martial refers to a performance of the same event, but in this case, after knowing the alternative offered to the culprit, the poet does not consider the feat anything wonderful:

'If that Mucius who was recently seen in the arena in the morning and who placed his own members into the flames to you appears enduring, stern, and brave, you have the sense of the commons of Abdera. For, when in the presence of the *tunica molesta* the command comes, "Burn your hand", it is a greater thing to say, "I won't do it" '.

Sometimes the arena was flooded and transformed into a lake, and then the Romans beheld Leander swimming to his beloved Hero (Martial, De Spectaculis 25). It is needless to assume that the swimmer actually said, 'Spare me in my haste, drown me on my return', but doubtless the man was allowed to struggle in the water until he was exhausted and drowned.

Again, according to Martial, De Spectaculis 26, in the flooded arena a band of Nereids represented a ship in full sail. Probably no ship was on the water,

but it was left to the imagination of the spectators, the maidens being arranged in such groups as readily to suggest a ship with its accessories. Some appear to have formed the outline of the ship and swelling sails, while others were arranged in ranks like the oars and the rowers. One band formed a trident, another a curved anchor, while two bore torches in their rôle of the Dioscuri.

Performances sometimes were given at night, and possibly the representations of Leander and the Nereids were part of a nocturnal programme. The word *nocturna*, in Martial, De Spectaculis 25.1, suggests a night scene, unless, knowing the story of Leander, the spectators imagined it was night while the play was really given in the daytime. The Dioscuri certainly would have been more effective at night. Suetonius (Caligula 27, at the end) records that under Caligula a nocturnal scene was rendered in which the stories of the infernal regions were exhibited by Egyptians and Ethiopians. The Romans did not lack means of illumination; for Statius tells us (Silvae 1.6. 85 ff.) that at the Saturnalia of 90 A. D. the amphitheater was brilliantly illuminated (compare also Lucilius, Frag. 111 Baehrens).

These were but a few of the amusements of the Roman people in the decadence of the stern spirit represented by Cato. And yet a recital of the events portrayed in the Roman amphitheater does not justify us in forming the conclusion that the Roman was coarser or more brutal than other races; considering the age in which he lived, he certainly does not suffer in comparison with the American people. In our Colonial period the stocks, the pillory, and the whipping-post stood in the public square, and their victims were pelted by the rabble. A public hanging would draw a crowd from miles around. Nor can we assume that he was more extravagant than we are, when we consider that in Jersey City, July 2, 1921, the receipts for admission to the Dempsey-Carpentier fight were approximately \$1,600,000. The Romans enjoyed the spectacles of the amphitheater just as much as modern people find pleasure in watching the pictures projected on the screen by the cinematograph. In Rome, however, we note a decrease of seriousness of purpose and the decay of the national spirit. With the spread of the Roman arms and the importation of luxuries, the populace found its highest pleasure and satisfaction in public grain and games. Instead of the patriotic Roman of the times of the Punic Wars, we find in process of development a different character, whose main concern is not how the legions fare on the frontiers, but whether the Blues or the Greens have won the day in the Circus.

SOUTH PHILADELPHIA  
HIGH SCHOOL FOR BOYS

HENRY S. GEHMAN

## REVIEWS

Memoirs of The American Academy in Rome. Volume I: School of Classical Studies 1915-1916. Bergamo Istituto Italiano D'Arti Grafiche (1917). Pp. 172. Plates 54. \$5.00.

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Volume II. New York: University Press Association; Cambridge: Harvard University Press; New Haven: Yale University Press (1918). Pp. 101. Plates 70. \$7.50.

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Volume III. Rome: American Academy in Rome; New York: University Press Association; New Haven: Yale University Press; Cambridge: Harvard University Press (1919). Pp. 101. Plates 91. \$8.00.

These are indeed sumptuous volumes (they measure about fourteen by ten inches). The illustrations are among the finest I have ever seen.

The contents of Volume I are as follows:

The Reorganization of the Roman Priesthoods at the Beginning of the Republic, Jesse Benedict Carter (9-17); The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours, E. K. Rand and George Howe (19-57); The Aqua Traiana and the Mills on the Janiculum, A. W. Van Buren, in Collaboration with G. P. Stevens (59-61); Ancient Granulated Jewelry of the VIIth Century B. C. and Earlier, C. Densmore Curtis (63-85); Bartolomeo Caporali (Plates 20-48), Stanley Lothrop (87-102); Capita Desecta and Marble Coiffures (Plates 49-50), John R. Crawford (103-119); The Military Indebtedness of Early Rome to Etruria (Plates 51-54), Eugene S. McCartney (121-167); Index (169-170); Index Locorum (171-172).

Volume II contains the following papers:

Recent Work of the School of Fine Arts (Plates 1-15), (11-14); Terracotta Arulae (Plates 16-22), E. Douglas Van Buren (Mrs. A. W. Van Buren), (15-53); The Gallic Fire and Roman Archives, Lucy George Roberts (55-65); Studies in the Archaeology of the Forum at Pompeii (Plates 23-25), A. W. Van Buren (67-76); Pietro Cavallini (Plates 26-70), Stanley Lothrop (77-98); Index (99-100); Index Locorum (101).

The contents of Volume III are:

The Bernardini Tomb (Plates 1-71), C. Densmore Curtis (9-90); Prædixas (Plates 72-75), E. Douglas Van Buren (91-100); Work of the School of Fine Arts (Plates 76-91), (101).

Professor Carter maintains that Juno was paired originally not with Jupiter, but with Janus. This connection of Janus and Juno is brought out most clearly in connection with the Curiae, "in many respects most primitive of all the social divisions of Rome . . .". On page 12 we read:

But the activity of the King and the Queen along religious lines was not confined to their functions as special priests of Janus, Juno and Vesta. They had important executive functions as well. The whole organization of the state religion seems to have been dependent upon the King. Even in the earliest period there seem to have existed side by side the two great activities, which were afterwards carried on by the college of the pontiffs and the college of augurs respectively. In the kingly period these two colleges existed merely in the rudimentary form of advisors to the King, who was himself entirely independent in his actions and in no wise bound by his councillors. Similarly the King and the Queen together were responsible for the worship of Vesta, and the Queen was assisted by the Vestal Virgins in the carrying out of the worship at the state hearth, but the Vestals were merely her assistants, and she

represented them all and was herself in the power of her husband the King.

The course of the reorganization which came about with the establishment of the (so-called) Republic Professor Carter outlines as follows (12-17). In the regal period there had been centralization of power—a one-man *imperium*. Under the Republic it was held that the *imperium* belonged to the aristocracy, or, in other words, to the Senate. The Senate, having stripped the King of every vestige of *imperium*, parcelled it out to individuals in very small pieces.

An official called the Rex Sacrorum was created. He was a Rex, however, only in name. He was "the most honored and the least powerful man in the state".

This reminiscent King of the Republic had no other functions than those particular acts of worship which the gods, and especially Janus, had a right to receive at his hand . . .

Venerable as was the connection of the King with the Curiae, the most important of his executive functions were in relation to the religion of the state. Here he was the chief priest, assisted to be sure by a council of priests, but, as we have seen, acting entirely independently of them. This part of the King's activities must be removed from him at once. The council now becomes independent. It takes, as it were, into its own bosom the power which the King had had. . . but delegates it at once to one of their own number, to whom was given the title of Pontifex Maximus. Thus was created the office of Pontifex Maximus, that man in whom were united the principal executive functions of the King. . .

. . . The name <Regina> was retained, with the addition of *sacrorum*, and she continued to perform the same priestly functions as she had always done; but her executive work was taken from her. The principal feature of this executive work was her connection with the Vestal Virgins. Her place was now filled by the appointment of a Virgo Maxima (the doyenne of the Vestals). Here again conservatism and logic had their perfect work. As the Regina had been legally in the *poteslas* of her husband, the Rex, so now in their new relationship the Virgo Maxima is in the *poteslas* of the Pontifex Maximus.

In the American Journal of Archaeology 7. 13-25, 157-197, 405-428, Professor F. W. Shipley, of Washington University, St. Louis, published, under the title, Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts, an elaborate study of a manuscript of Livy, to be found in the Vatican Library (Reginensis, 762). In Memoirs, I, Professors Rand and Howe describe this manuscript as worthless for the text, but most interesting palaeographically. On pages 23-24 they give a list of articles in which it has been discussed from various points of view. Traube, in Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie, 1891, 425-427, noticing that the names of seven of the eight scribes which are found in this manuscript appear in the list of the monks of St. Martin's at Tours, claimed that the book had been produced at Tours, and, for certain reasons, maintained that the manuscript had been produced between 804 and 834. Professor Shipley (11) accepted Traube's view as to date, and regarded the script of this manuscript as "one of the best examples of the calligraphy of Tours".



From this view, Professors Rand and Howe dissent. They believe that, when Alcuin retired to Tours in 796, he found there a 'hand' which had been in use for some time, with individual and promising traits. Now, Alcuin had received from Charlemagne a commission to emend the books of the Bible. In 801, he presented to Charlemagne a text, just revised by the hand of a favorite pupil, Fridugisus. This copy of the Bible, written presumably in the regular 'hand' of Tours, is represented, say our authors, by a goodly array of manuscripts in what is universally acknowledged to be in the typical hand of Tours. In the Bible known as the Bible of Bamberg, Professors Rand and Howe think we have the original text of Alcuin and the script which he helped to establish. Of the Livy manuscript the authors write as follows (24-25):

The manuscript abounds in crude and antiquated forms which are not to be found in the Bamberg Book. . . if the Bamberg Bible was done under Alcuin, then the Livy must have appeared before the coming of Alcuin to Tours. One might suppose that the Livy, as the external testimony apparently indicates, was done under Fridugisus, perhaps soon after 804, while the series of which the Bamberg Bible was the first member started, say, a decade later.

The article contains also very elaborate studies of the identity of the scribes by whom the manuscript was written, and of the portions assigned to each, their handwritings, and of other characteristics of the manuscript. There is an elaborate table giving an analysis of the work of the individual scribes. Twelve of the fourteen fine plates which illustrate the article have to do with the manuscript of Livy. They show the hands of the different scribes.

Granulated jewelry, says Mr. Curtis, consists of gold ornaments decorated with minute globules of gold. From 2,000 B. C., until Etruscan art began to degenerate, certain workman (64)

were masters of a process which enabled them to attach these tiny particles to the surface of their jewelry by a minimum amount of solder, so that they either appeared to rest on the surface without support, or are raised on low pedestals, in either of which cases they cast a sharp shadow and stand out in high relief. In the jewelry of the best period they are generally raised from the surface, thereby giving an additional play of light and shade and an inimitable charm to the objects so ornamented.

On pages 64-66, Mr. Curtis discusses the technical processes employed in the production of such jewelry. He then examines the jewelry of the different periods, and describes in detail a few of the best known specimens which he has been privileged to examine. Some of these specimens have not as yet been brought before the public. The four plates beautifully illustrate the article, by photographic reproductions of various objects. Perhaps the best of these is a *fibula*, belonging to Mr. Curtis himself, and lent by him to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Plate 18).

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 6. 74-79 (December 21, 1912), Professor Eugene S. McCartney, in a paper entitled, 'The Genesis of Rome's Military Equipment, considered the genesis and the development of the sword, the shield, the spear, the breastplate, the

legion, etc. In Memoirs, I, he discusses these and similar things, including musical instruments, the chariot, and the cavalry. Even more strongly and more clearly than in his article in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, he maintains (166) that the Romans were most deeply indebted in all these fields to the Etruscans. The article presents, in great detail, the evidence on each topic discussed; it is thoroughly documented by footnotes, which call attention to the ancient evidence, in the literatures, to archaeological evidence still extant, and to modern discussions of the passages in the literatures and of the archaeological evidence.

Professor Crawford's paper deals with certain ancient marble heads, "sliced neatly at the crown like breakfast eggs, or in some cases at the occiput" (103). Some of these heads bear "mortised segments" (103). In 1883, S. Reinach advanced, as an explanation of such heads, the theory that the ancient sculptor was at times compelled to make use of more than one block of marble for a single head. Later, Professor Paul Gauckler connected with these segmented heads certain other material, including several heads of Roman imperial ladies of the Emesene dynasty, which, in some cases, had removable coiffures. By way of explaining all this material, Gauckler set forth the hypothesis (104-105)

that we are dealing with a rite of anointing in connection with cult statues of adopted Syrian divinities in the syncretistic age of the Severi. If the statue was ready to hand, as in the case of the Hellenistic Dionysus . . . the head was formally cut, the oil applied, and the segment mortised on again. If it was made new for the purpose, as in the case of . . . the heads of imperial ladies . . . , the head and the segment (or coiffure) were prepared separately to begin with. In general the rite falls into the same category with the nimbus, the royal crown, the radiate diadem, the anointing of the kings of Judah, the tonsure of priests, and the trepanation of the Pharaohs. It is a matter of the brain as the seat of the soul, where the Divine Essence and the human creature conjoin.

This theory Professor Crawford's investigations led him to reject completely. He maintains that the mass of material is too heterogeneous to be accounted for by a cult act, which would "involve above all else a more or less definite uniformity of type. Incidentally, no case has been adduced of a cavity in the head. . ." (118).

We may continue, he says (118-119), to explain the phenomenon of the marble segment on technical grounds. Sometimes it was added of necessity by the original sculptor; sometimes it was a later restoration in repair of damage done to the head after it had left the workshop. Where no segment is present, it is possible that the head, having been damaged, was trimmed to better its appearance. Perhaps, at times, portraits of Emperors were made with removable diadems. Finally, Professor Crawford holds that "Greek and Roman sculptors were more ready than we have been willing to admit to employ more than a single block in the making of a marble head".

Mrs. Van Buren's article, in Volume II of the Memoirs, deals with a great quantity of small objects



that, throughout a long period of years, have been turned up by the excavations in Sicily and in Southern Italy, as far north as Rome. Although these objects are not of great artistic merit in themselves, they are, she thinks, important, because, in her belief, they not only influenced sculpture in general, but in particular exercised a profound influence "hitherto not adequately recognized", on Roman sarcophagi.

These small objects are mostly rectangular in shape, closed above and open beneath; the front long side is usually decorated with a relief and some times all four sides are so treated, although in the majority of cases the second long side is left rough. They are most frequently found in necropoles or sanctuaries, and also, occasionally, in dwelling houses. This seems to prove that their denomination as arulae, arette or small altars is correct. . . .

Their chief interest lies in the subjects represented, some types being especially favoured in certain districts, whilst others spread over a wide area. The shapes, too, vary with the region. . . .

On pages 17-47, Mrs. Van Buren groups the arulae according to the types represented on them, under the following captions:

I. Animal Contests (Lion Attacks Stag; Lion Rending Bull; Lion Attacking Horse; Two Lions Attacking Bull; Two Felines Devouring Stag; etc.); II. Mythological Monsters (Sphinx; Syrens; Harpies; Satyr; Centaur; etc.); III. Divinities; IV. Mythological Beings (Europa on the Bull; Herakles Attacking the Hydra; etc.); V. Human Protagonists (Charioteers and Riders; Flute-Player and Dancers; etc.); VI. Decorative Subjects; VII. Ill-Defined Subjects; VIII. Without Design.

The only theme found in all the colonies, Dorian, Achaean, and Phoenician alike, is the theme which is perhaps the earliest of all, the lion rending a bull. "The idea underlying the motive seems to be that as here the weaker animal is always overcome by the lion's resistless force, so before the invincible might of Death all men are helpless victims".

On pages 49-50 Mrs. Van Buren writes:

I have alluded to the influence of these arulae upon Roman sarcophagi, an influence which has previously been attributed exclusively to the Etruscan urns. These latter undoubtedly determined the shape of the earlier tombs and the effigy of the deceased upon the lid. But attention has often been drawn to the sanguinary character of the Etruscan reliefs, whereas in their Roman successors a milder and more allegorical choice of subjects is noticeable. Therefore it is credible that, before they became acquainted with Greek masterpieces like the Alexander sarcophagus, such funeral themes as the lion rending a bull had been made familiar to the Romans by the humble arulae which had popularized a series of representations unknown upon the Etruscan urns but consecrated, even in the original home in Asia Minor, to the adornment of tombs and the cult of the dead. . . .

To sum up the conclusions: these arulae originate with the Greek colonies: they are not found however on the Greek mainland, and most therefore reveal a usage and, possibly, a cult either purely local or brought from somewhere other than the mother country of the settlers. The subjects represented are schemes common to Oriental art, and here the Loryma basis comes to our assistance; for it shows that precisely on an altar basis just such subjects are treated. Presumably, then, the Greek colonists knew of the use of sculptured altars as tomb monu-

ments in Asia Minor at any rate, if not in Greece proper, and in their new homes they perpetuated this form of memorial, but in miniature, depositing it *within* instead of *upon* the tomb. Although this was the original purpose of the arulae, it is easily conceivable that they were soon also dedicated as ex-votos in sanctuaries, or even employed in houses for commemorative or domestic cults, which would account for their presence in temples and dwelling houses.

This custom must have been carried north by the colonists, for after a long tract of territory where arulae are not found, they appear again in the Greek settlement of Capua and then in Rome and the neighborhood, including Caere and Ardea, both traditional Greek foundations. The isolated finds at Hadria and Baccuco in Picenum must be due to this influence, for it was refugees from the tyranny of Dionysius of Syracuse who about 380 B. C. built the haven of Ancona.

The prevalence in the northern district of the hourglass shape, never found in Sicily or Southern Italy, implies the influence of another tradition which can only be Etruscan, a supposition confirmed by comparison with the altars of Veiovis from Bovillae, of Calvinus from the Palatine, or the cippus altar from Orvieto. Mykenian gems show close parallels to this type and so do Babylonian seal cylinders. Now it is noteworthy that this is precisely the shape of the so-called "table-leg altars" of Maltese megalithic buildings, where they are often placed in a shrine or niche very similar to that of the altar found at Fiesole.

Though I am not an archaeologist, I venture to note here that Mrs. Van Buren's reference, in the last paragraph quoted, to "Maltese megalithic buildings" made me think, at once, of the very interesting paper published by Dr. Ernst Riess, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 14. 14, on Aeneid 6. 42-44, in which he called attention to an extraordinary parallelism between the series of chambers found on the island of Malta and Vergil's description of the *antrum Cumaeum*. Mrs. Van Buren's statements, however, point to a distinct difference, in the matter with which she is dealing, between Malta and Sicily or Southern Italy.

Miss Roberts's purpose is to determine, so far as possible, the effect of the Gallic invasion and fire of 387 B. C. on the archives of Rome. Her conclusion is that the temples of Saturn, Castor, Dius Fidius, Diana, Ceres, and perhaps that of Juno, survived. On the other hand, the Regia, the Temple of Apollo, and the Rostra were destroyed. On page 64 she says:

This regard for temples, on the part of the Gauls, is entirely in keeping with the characteristic religiosity which reveals itself in their adopting oriental cults in Asia Minor and Druidism in Britain.

If Miss Roberts is right in these conclusions, it follows that "probably almost all of the international documents deposited on the Capitoline and in the other temples, escaped destruction. . . . The pontifical records, on the contrary, and the Laws of the Twelve Tables apparently perished" (64-65).

Obviously these views, if correct, are of the very greatest importance. If they are accepted, it will be necessary to revise a good deal of what, since the days of Niebuhr, has passed for scientific study of the history of Rome.

Professor Van Buren's article on the antiquities of the Forum at Pompeii is meant in part to correct certain statements about well-known monuments, in part to call attention to matters of interest which have long passed unobserved. He deals especially with The Great Inscription on the Pavement of the Forum. It is well known, he says, that the Forum of Pompeii was paved, about the beginning of the first century A. D., with large blocks of limestone, well laid. Considerable portions of this pavement are preserved at the North end and at the South end of the Forum. Professor Van Buren seems to have made an interesting discovery—that this pavement contained a great inscription

in letters of bronze set into the limestone blocks, and running from the west to the east side of the Forum. Of this monumental inscription there survives in position only the cutting for the first letter, a Q, in a block of the pavement immediately to the East of the very large oblong statue base which is situated at about the middle of the west side of the Forum. . . . This one letter, given its character and position, is ample evidence for the former existence of the whole inscription: similar pavements containing similar inscriptions have been preserved in at least three instances.

The instances to which Dr. Van Buren refers are the Roman Forum (see Hulsén-Carter, *The Roman Forum*, 148); the main Forum at Tarracina; the secondary Forum in the lower town at Tarracina (here, says Dr. Van Buren, "by great good fortune, the bronze letters themselves are preserved, not merely their matrices").

Next, Dr. Van Buren discusses the arched structure of masonry in the center of the South end of the Forum. This he proposes to identify as simply the Ianus of Pompeii, and to associate its erection in its present form with some renewal or extension of the privileges of the city under the early Empire.

Finally, Dr. Van Buren combats a view, set forth by H. Thédenat in his book, *Pompeii*, 2. 16-20, that the Romans, at the time they founded the colony in Pompeii, introduced important changes in the plan of the Forum as they found it; all the evidence, he says, points toward a fair degree of continuity.

In this connection attention may be called to a very interesting article by Dr. Van Buren, entitled *The Past Decade of Pompeian Studies*, in *The Classical Journal* 15.404-417 (April, 1920). In this he deals with such topics as

Situation and Town-Plan; The Races of Mankind Represented in the People; The Pre-Roman Period; The Roman Period; The Eruption of 79 A. D.; After 79 A. D.; Public Edifices; Water Supply; The Area Outside the Gates; Private Houses; The Inhabitants and Their Occupation; The Fine Arts; Mosaics; Inscriptions.

The Bernardini Tomb, with which Mr. Curtis deals in Volume III, was discovered in 1876 at Palestrina (ancient Praeneste). It got its name from the Messrs. Bernardini, who furnished the money for the excavation. Though the excavation was carelessly conducted, and no accurate records were made as the work progressed, a remarkable group of objects was preserved, of gold, silver, bronze, iron, amber, ivory,

glass, wood, and leather, some of manifest Eastern origin, some of local workmanship. The entire collection was finally purchased by the Museo Kircheriano (now called Museo Preistorico).

The article by Mrs. Van Buren, entitled *Praxias*, is a study of one of the artists to whom was entrusted the important task of adorning the temple at Delphi when it was rebuilt after its destruction in the early part of the fourth century B. C. Mrs. Van Buren begins by declaring that from three inscriptions it is certain that Praxias was at work in the early half of the fourth century B. C. But here a difficulty arises, because Pausanias 10. 19.4 declares that Praxias was a pupil of Kalamis, whose greatest activity lay between 466 and 430 B. C. Since Praxias lived and worked till 340 B. C., he could not have studied under Kalamis. Mrs. Van Buren disposes of the difficulty by accepting a suggestion of M. Homolle that the scribe made a mistake in the manuscript of Pausanias, and substituted the name of Kalamis for that of Kallimachos, an artist well known, who worked toward the end of the fourth century B. C. Mrs. Van Buren brings new considerations to the support of M. Homolle's view. She then considers various works which have been by different authorities attributed to Kallimachos, and proceeds from these to work he influenced, work which may be attributed to Praxias himself. She sums up as follows (100): . . . in the series of reliefs known as the Kitharoides reliefs we have a mutilated version of the West pediment of the Delphic sanctuary, the chief and final work of Praxias. After his death the East pediment was finished by Androsthenes, who combined certain types taken from his predecessor's cycle with other types from his great contemporary Skopas.

Thus far we have been dealing, in this account of the *Memoirs*, with the work of The School of Classical Studies at Rome. Another important side of the three volumes is that which represents the work of The School of Fine Arts. In Volume II, page 9, there is a statement to the effect that the Trustees of The American Academy in Rome have decided to present each year in the *Memoirs* a collection of Plates reproducing the work of the Fellows of the School of Fine Arts. In that volume fifteen subjects were chosen for such reproduction. Some of these are of distinct interest to the student of the Classics, such as the drawing of a Capital of the Temple of Mars Ultor, at Rome; a restored plan of the Palace of Domitian, on the Palatine Hill; a restoration of the Ponte Rotto.

Among the Plates in Volume III, is a plan of Delphi, a plan of the Women's Baths at the Villa of Hadrian (at Tivoli), and the Interior of the Pantheon, showing existing marbles and a restoration, according to Piranesi, of the demolished parts.

This side of the Academy's work is represented also by an article, in Volume I, by Stanley Lothrop, on the Perugian painter, Bartolomeo Caporali. This is a study of his life and career, illustrated by many plates, reproducing his works. In Volume II, Mr. Lothrop makes a similar study of Pietro Cavallini.

C. K.